[204 cont.]
776 of the Bon, the Dăntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance among the people that might be expected. They know of [796] Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth [535] day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha, [791] and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call [788] sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This [756] Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people. Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called [753] ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune, [777] failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the [731] plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom [782] the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are combated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the Dăntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

●774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[205 cont.]

774 Unequivocal statements concerning the conceptions of the soul among the Tujen could not be secured. It is true that several souls can be inferred from the death customs described, but the naming and peculiar nature of these souls remain vague.

192 774 Two designations for "soul" come into consideration: namsŭ (namšĕ) and suniedzĕ. The word namsŭ is seldom used. According to the DMF (256), it corresponds to the Tibetan ñams-su. This independent connection cannot be confirmed in Ch. Das, but ñams alone is found there, p. 476, with the meaning: "...the soul, mind, spirit as an entity" [cited in English]. The su could at most still be an instrumental particle. One will probably not go wrong, therefore, if he equates namsŭ not with ñams-su, but with the Tibetan rnam šes, pronounced nam-še. Ch. Das (762) translates it with: "...the mind, knowledge, intellect, memory" [cited in English]. H.A. Jäschke, on the other hand, has for it the explanation (315): "3. in popular language: soul, e.g. of the departed..." [cited in English]. The much more frequently used word suniedzĕ has the same meaning. It is the equivalent of the Mongolic sŭnesŭn. Both namsŭ and suniedzĕ signify nothing uniform, for there are three souls: nigĕ 774 kundu ġuran namsŭ-i, or nigĕ kundu suniedzĕ ġuran-i, that is: 775 "There are three souls to a human being"; cf. DMF 256. And of what kind are these souls? torõñ yesĕ saġdzini, ġuordani sdziewa awura sdzini, ġurandani iliedu furani (cf. DMF 361), that is, "The first guards the bones, the second assumes the rebirth, the third transforms itself into a demon." Mostaert, op. cit., refers to Sanžeev, "Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten [World-view and shamanism of the Alar-Burjat]," Anthropos, 22, 1927, p. 585. The conception of the tripartition, [171] however, is much more widespread; at any rate in Lamaistically influenced Asia it is found almost everywhere. Even the Tsinghai Chinese know of three souls: one goes into the underworld, one stays with the corpse (bones), one wanders around in the world. What is common to these three souls is that they can separate themselves from the body.

775 The bone-soul remains with the skeleton after death, at 764 least until the rite of the bădа has been completed, whereby it 604 is satisfied and becomes free. Its agent in this ritual and the

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
[171] are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
[769] ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
[764] stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
[782] the deceased would remain among the living and would need to partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
[513] even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
[753] indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
[756] for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
[755] soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This catching of the soul is called: suniedzë xura-. It is unclear from this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
[171] to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru (rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun, moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals. Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the underworld and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
[778] the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

[243 cont.]
all more or less unimportant elements. The type of the protective warrior, however, goes uniformly through the various representations. Thus the question of the origin of the gurtum becomes the question of the origin of the warrior-shaman.

The Origin of the Warrior-shaman

This question cannot be exhaustively dealt with here within the framework of a presentation of the Tujen religion, since it is closely connected with the origin of shamanism in general. The following points are therefore to be regarded merely as sketchy hints for a later investigation.

Warrior-shamans and Bon religion. H. Hoffmann writes in his book (Quellen, p. 194) of the gNas c'un oracle: "He is, therefore, a living relic of the Bon religion in Lamaism, and to be sure of that side of the Bon religion that is extremely close to the shamanism of the Siberian peoples ..." On page 205 he comes back to the same observation after he has set forth in the same chapter the shamanistic elements in the Bon religion. The type of the Bon shaman pictured there, however, does not correspond to the type of the gurtum or warrior-shaman. The clothing is different, and the Bon shaman works with the hoop drum covered on one side (cf. op. cit., p. 201). A kind of kettledrum is also used. On his drum the Bon-pa rides heavenward in ecstasy. Hoffman quite correctly links this type of shaman with the present-day Siberian form of shamanism (pp. 202 f.). Two important elements, the hoop drum and the flight of the soul, do not appear with the warrior-shaman. To be sure, in the temple, as I was able to observe in Kumbum and Kuomang-szu, large, double-sided drums were likewise beaten as the gurtum was transported into the trance, but only by the assisting lamas, and to be sure they were the drums that are otherwise used at the religious service. The hoop drum, however, of which Hoffman (op. cit., p. 203) gives an illustration, is not used. In the case of the gurtum the necessary connection between the drum and the ascent to

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coming Shih-kung can hardly be obtained except by inheritance, from a line of able priestly ancestors. They adopt no pupil who is not the son of a colleague,[49] and they use Taoist gods for their own purpose.[50]

CULT OF THE TWELVE TENGRIS SPECIFICALLY SHAMANIST

The Monguor shamans seem to belong to the Altaic classification. The traditions concerning the antiquity of the cult of the Twelve Tengris and the preference of the Monguor shamans for the cult are not to be overlooked. An obvious reason for this preference may be found in the fact that the range of activities of the Tengris is more far reaching than that of the Wu tao shen, the god of the Five Roads, because the Tengris combat all kinds of evil spirits while the god of the Five Roads and his associates combat only the hail spirits.

However, the basic reason for the preference among the shamans for the cult of the Twelve Tengris is deeply rooted in the peculiar philosophy of shamanism as it exists in Asia. According to Dioszegi, there existed

> two notions, from the time Shamanism was still in formation, concerning the combats of the shamans with evil spirits: the first assumes that the shaman himself, having taken the shape of an animal, is engaged in the struggle; the second, that the guardian spirit of the shaman, having taken the shape of an animal, waged war.[51]

The Tungus tell of two shamans who changed themselves into bear and tiger, fighting in the presence of the people, and of shamans who assume one of the animal spirit forms to travel a long way.[52] Concerning this philosophy Shirokogoroff notes:

> . . . the group of spirits associated, at least by name, with animals is very numerous . . . by the Northern Tungus these are not considered as animals but manifestations assumed by the spirits; there are the tiger, bear, wolf, fox, snake, dragon, deer, roe-deer, dog, horse, carp, cuckoos, falcons, hawks, eagle, etc.[53]

The old specific shamanist concept concerning animal-like beings (spirits) waging war with evil spirits lies at the base of the Tengris cult. It was realized in the rite of the twelve animal spirits who, long before our era, drove the evil spirits out of the palace of the prince.

This peculiar old philosophy must have caused the ancestors of our Monguor shamans to choose for themselves the cult of the Twelve Tengris and to dedicate themselves to these animal-like Tengris. Today the Monguor shamans unconsciously continue to perform the same dedication and to practice the same cult. The

[49] *Ibid.*, 1252.
[50] *Ibid.*, 1254.
[51] Dioszegi, Le combat sous forme d'animal des chamans, *Acta Orientalia* 2: 315, Budapest, 1952.
[52] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 371.
[53] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 174.

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philosophy, therefore, explains the Rite of the White Tiger performed today by the Monguor shamans against hail, and the same principle (as we will see later) is applied in the rite of the "goat skin" and of the "wooden raven" against hail. The same philosophy is encountered in the facts previously related by Owen Lattimore among the Fishkin Tatars, by W. Heissig in the Kürye-Banner, and by Shirokogoroff among the Tungus. In all the studies concerning shamanism in Asia this philosophy is attested.[54]

Therein lies the reason why the Monguor shamans practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris and why it must be said that the Monguor shamans are genuine shamans, belonging to the Altaic classification. No hints are available to suggest that the Twelve Tengris were not the initial spirits to which the ancestor of the Monguor shaman dedicated himself, and we have no hints to fix the time when their ancestor shaman lived. It may only be assumed that the Monguor shamans already served the Tengris at the time of the Yüan dynasty when they settled in Kansu, because their Tengris at that time were represented as Mongol warriors and because the shamans in Mongolia practiced for centuries the subarctic form of shamanism.

MONGUOR SHAMANS ENTER THE TAOIST GUILD

It is a well-known fact that among the South Mongolian tribes of the Ordos, Tümed and Chahar regions as well as among the North Mongolian Khalkha . . . Shamanism and other "unorthodox creeds" had since been "outlawed" by the code of the Jasaktu Khan, by the religious proclamation of Altan Khan (1577) and the corresponding decree of the Siditü Gabcu in Khalkha (1587), [but that] certain undercurrents of a popular Chinese Taoist mysticism, known there under the name of *Bon-po* (Bö), had continued for some while, but at the death of Ligdan Khan (1634) the Yellow Sect was well established in these parts of Mongolia.[55]

"Outlawed" does not mean that these "unorthodox creeds," these Bon-po, etc., disappeared because of codes, proclamations, and decrees, for their existence is still attested; but they were persecuted or their activities were restrained.

The Red Sect, patronized by Mongol and Ming emperors and Mongol chiefs, fought a fierce battle against shamanism and Bön. The Yellow Sect fought against the Red Sects from 1558; to these former edicts may be added that of 1640, which had stipulations concerning the suppression of shamanism. "Forty-eight princes and chiefs of Mongol tribes convened in order to fix the so-called 'Mongol-Oirat regulations.'" Among them were Mongol princes of Khalkha, Jungaria, Kukunor (near Hsining) as well as of Siberia, and later two

[54] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 94–98, 413.

[55] Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century. *Anthropos* 48: 493, 1953.

RITE OF THE WHITE TIGER

The most important rite against hail is the one called the Rite of the White Tiger, performed by the shaman. Once in a while a Taoist priest and even a Red lama try to enact it. However, the following year a shaman is invited again by the distrustful villagers, for the rite belongs to the black magical art and is more in keeping with the attributions of the shaman.

It is performed in May, before the time of the hailstorms. The original and complete rite is not enacted every year, but certainly it will never be omitted the year after the crops have been destroyed. If a year passes peacefully, then the following year only a supplementary rite will be enacted, strengthening the original one. If for many years the crops have been preserved, the original rite will nevertheless be performed again, for fear the original magical power may have faded.

It will be noted that the shaman deposited, in the temple under the bushel, the bottle he used for capturing a human soul with which he nurtured the spirits. The seventh day after the performance of the spring rites, the chief of the village and the elders go to the temple to take the bottle and bushel away, and they ring the temple bell. A member of each family arrives carrying incense sticks; the sedan chair, with the statue inside, is moved into the middle of the courtyard of the temple. All those present, holding incense sticks, kneel before the sedan chair, and the chief of the village asks the god whether it is certain the crops will be reaped peacefully, and whether the hail will be certain not to play havoc. Despite the formal promises of the shaman seven days ago, suspicions are still harbored. Then according to the ceremony already noted (the sedan chair crushing the carriers, etc.) and according to the pointers given by the spirit, the chief of the village decides to invite the shaman.

The shaman and three or four of his confreres examine the country and fix the place where the rite is to be performed. It is always within the boundaries of the village, on a hill or hillock, usually at the northwest corner, because hailstorms usually come from that direction. An auspicious day is chosen for the performance, and a list of all the required items for the rite is given by the shamans to the chief of the village. Here is what the list transmitted to the chief of the village of Toolong by the shaman contained: 20 black bowls; 15 wooden stakes, 2 feet in length; 15 tiles, 15 bricks, 15 eggs; 15 wooden planks, two feet long and 2 inches thick; 5 small hand mills, 5 axles and a cart wheel; an iron chain, which had been used to tie a dog, and a lock; 5 bell neckstraps with bells which had been used on horses; a mill stone, the corpse of a boy or baby, a living white dog and a white cock, water drawn from 10 different wells, 5 lions made of glazed pottery, used to adorn roofs; 6 earthen jars, among them 2 of bigger size, and a kettle; a pivot of a millstone, a pivot of threshing rolls, 2 threshing rolls, a plowshare, a harrow,

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SOULS

The concept of the soul is one of the most confused all over Asia. Chinese claim to have two souls: the *p'o* and the *hun*. The p'o appears at the moment of conception, the hun at the time of birth. At death, they are separated; the p'o dwelling with the corpse, the hun going to Heaven, to the domain of Shang ti. Hungry p'o become malignant kuei. However, according to old theories, they live only for three years after death. In later times it was imagined that there was a place for the p'o similar to that of the hun. When the mourning period is finished, the deceased becomes an ancestor.[1]

Pure shamanism—i.e., shamanism before its contact with Lamaism,—had no conception of another world or a realm of death; but another realm to which only the shaman had admission, which became adorned with many attributes of the Lamaistic Hades, as appears later in the more recent shamanistic incantations. In pure shamanism, the ghost and spirits of the dead remained in this world at their burial sites. These sites developed into haunted places, and through fear were tabu to all but the shamans who have power over these ghosts and spirits.[2]

Johannes de Plano Carpini (1246–1247) claimed that the Mongols had no notion about heaven or hell, but asserted that they entered another world after death, where they could tend animals,[3] and that their deceased, under the form of dolls, were put on a wagon guarded by shamans and honored on certain days. Later on, good men became good spirits, and so the entire branch of Chingis Khan became good spirits. Owing to Tibetan Buddhist influences, souls were incarnated in other men.[4] A judgment after death was supposed to take place, and a heaven and a hell and even a kind of purgatory to exist.[5] Schmidt concludes his synthesis of the religion of the oldest Turks by saying, "Because the soul is thought to have the shape of a bird, and because death is called 'flying away,' it seems to point to a flight to Heaven," so that a heaven might haxe existed.[6] The souls of princes were probably thought to enter Heaven where they lived in the way they lived on earth.[7]

The Buriats speak in a very confused manner about three souls.[8] The Yakuts believe the shaman has three souls, "the air soul," "the earth soul," and "the mother soul." During his childhood the threefold soul is taken away by the spirits, and his mother soul takes the shape of a "fantastic female."[9] These facts suffice to give an idea about the confusion reigning in Central Asia about the soul, and they prepare us to expect the same confu-

[1] Maspero, *op. cit.*, 186.
[2] Heissig, *op. cit.*, 510.
[3] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 194, 195.
[4] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 105.
[5] *Ibid.*, 108–110.
[6] *Ibid.* 9: 65.
[7] *Ibid.*, 35.
[8] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, *Anthropos* 23: 578, 1928.
[9] Dioszegi, Le combat sous forme d'animal des chamans, *Acta Orientalia*, 316, 1952.

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sion concerning this subject among the Monguors, who assume that they have three souls.

THE FIRST SOUL

The Monguors used to talk about the soul of the bones,[10] which seems to adhere to the bones in general, not to a definite bone. When the bones are broken or split, the soul seems not to be affected. Consequently, when Monguors kill a sheep, they do not take care to avoid the breaking of the bones. The soul seems never to leave the bones, even during life or after death; it is said to be buried with the bones in the grave, and to remain there adhering to them, and to vanish when the bones vanish. Never is it said that this soul harms people, or is harmed in anyway. However, when the shaman calls back the souls of a sick man supposed to be harmed by malignant spirits, or by souls of the deceased, the bone soul is called back with the two others.

This peculiar feeling existing over all Asia concerning the bones is noteworthy. The bones play a large role in the beliefs of the Mongol and Turkish people, to which stock the Monguors belong. The Monguors, as well as the Mongols and Turks, when asking for the name of a man's clan, ask for the name of his "bone," and their saying goes that the bones come from the father and the flesh from the mother. This basic principle is so deeply ingrained in their consciousness that when you ask a man or a woman what their bones are, they will always answer by giving the name of the clan of their father and not that of their mother. Everybody is recognized as belonging to the clan of his father. If you ask for the name of the bone of their mother, they will answer by giving the name of their mother's father's clan and not of their mother's clan, for the bones come from the father. This behavior fits perfectly in the frame of a patriarchal society.

However, it is not known at what time specific facts caused the Monguors to go so far as to call their maternal uncle the "master of the bones" of the children of his sister, to acquiesce to his illogical usurpation of the most basic rights belonging to the family chief in a patriarchal society, to allow the maternal uncle to decide, in definite circumstances, about the life and death of these children, and to be their recognized avenger in case of suicide, caused by maltreatment, and to become the only man who can permit the burial of these children.[11] In all nomadic societies in Asia this intrusion is observed on a larger or smaller scale. Even in the Chinese society the maternal uncle plays an important role, presiding over the festivities at marriages and giving permission to bury the children of his sister. The Chinese saying is well known that, when the maternal uncle brings suit at court against the son of his sister, the father of the defendant cannot withstand it, and also the saying that as long as the mother's family (maternal uncle) does not permit burial, the de-

[10] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 2: 205.
[11] Schram, Part I: 91.

ceased cannot climb to heaven (the soul cannot leave the body).[12] Like the Monguors, they call a son *Ku-hsüeh*, "bone and blood," for his bones come from the father and blood from the mother. Relationship is called *Ku-jou*, "bones and flesh." The examination of the corpse by the maternal uncle before the funeral is called *Yen-ku*, "examining the bones."

However, the usurped rights of the maternal uncle concern only the children of his sister. He is not a chief of a clan, and in all clans men know very well that their clan chief is not a maternal uncle.

All the conditions set by the maternal uncle in order to permit burial find their explanation among Monguors and Chinese in the fear, which both harbor, of the harm which the deceased might cause in case he is not decently buried, and the desire to have a splendid burial for a member of their family, which will honor the family and flatter its pride. The Chinese are extravagantly demanding about precious clothes, a nice coffin, musicians, a big dinner, and a large number of Taoist priests. Monguors are also eager for grandeur, but, having no need for these items, put their unreasonable claims in the form of fantastically large alms for lama-series, three-fourths of which are never agreed upon. This mentality and these facts prove that religious feeling at that time plays a far lesser part in the discussions than the mania for display and worldly glory. Certainly there are devout Lamaists who, at the time of the death of a member of the family, really like to have prayers said for the deceased, spend a lot of money for entertaining lamas, giving alms, burning lamps. However, this is never done without ostentation and without advertising, and they make these claims on the day of the dinner in such a way that the whole gathering may spread the news.

THE SECOND SOUL

The concept of this soul is more confused than that of the first soul. The second soul is that which will join Buddha in his paradise, or will be condemned by the terrible judge after death to reincarnate, in order to repair injustices. The Monguors at present know perfectly well that after death this soul does not die, and that there is a reward or punishment meted out by the terrible judge. They know perfectly the eighteen hells, from having seen the pictures in the temples and having heard the lamas speak about them. It is one of the most important merits of Lamaism, that it has spread this doctrine to such an extent. The shamans, when performing the spring rites, tell about Erlik, as the lamas tell about the judge of death. The rite which is usually performed in reparation for injustices, so widely spread and practiced, supports the assumption that many

[12] This last saying of the Chinese has no meaning for the Monguors, because, immediately after death, the lama opens a way for the escape of the soul through the bregmatic fontanelle by pulling some hairs from the top of the head. The soul is thus already released before the maternal uncle arrives.

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new beliefs have entered their minds. However, for how long a time will the existence of this soul last? Even though the lamas speak of a quasi-endless paradise with Buddha, and of successive rebirths, the Monguors honor the souls of only three older generations at the feast of spring, at the celebration of the family guardian deity, and at the time when shamans expel evil spirits from sick men. After that the souls seem to be finished.

The second soul seems to be more independent of the body than the first one, because, during sleep, dreaming, and fainting fits, it may wander to far-off countries, and later recall what it saw or heard, and how it acted in these countries. At the moment of death, the family, on the roof of the house, implores it not to leave them. The shaman, curing the sick, calls this soul back with the two others along the rope. Immediately after death, the lama releases this soul through the bregmatic fontenelle. Surely, threfore, this soul leaves the body after death.

However, its existence has always been precarious. During life it was subject to being harmed by nefarious spirits, and after death, lamas must say prayers to help it reach paradise safely, in order that vampires may not devour it on the way. In the same way, the shamans at the feast of spring tell about the dangerous crossing of the bridge after death, and about vampires waiting for these souls.[13]

Siberian shamans travel to heaven in order to bring back souls abducted by evil spirits.[14] The Tungus believe that the soul remains for a certain time near the body,[15] and then a dog carries it into the lower world;[16] that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat,[17] and that a raven looks for the souls traveling, after death, to the lower world and brings the news to the soul's owner.[18] The release of the soul is a very important function of the shamans.[19]

The Monguors do not say in which part of the body the soul is located, or from where it originated. At the feast of spring, however, the shamans, when making fun, tell in a jocular manner how Tengri made seven men and seven women. The Tungus believe that the souls are given by the spirit;[20] they also say that the death of a man results in the birth of a new soul in the other (upper) world, and that the soul may be sent to a newborn human being.[21] Among the Ch'i-tan is recorded a sacrifice offered by the emperor in the tenth month, to the god of the sacred Black Mountain, who cares for the souls of the populace.[22]

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[13] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 191, 192.
[14] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 179.
[15] Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex*, 215.
[16] *Ibid.*, 210.
[17] *Ibid.*, 92.
[18] *Ibid.*, 142.
[19] *Ibid.*, 276.
[20] *Ibid.*, 128.
[21] *Ibid.*, 297.
[22] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 204–214.

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THE THIRD SOUL

The behavior of the Monguors toward this soul illustrates the basic approach prevailing all over Asia to the problem of the soul. The Monguors care more for this soul than for the other two because they are afraid of it. It becomes after death a kind of demon, ill-disposed toward its own family, harming its cattle and its wealth. This assumption is evidenced by their unkind attitude toward it, an attitude which shocks us. When the corpse is carried out of the courtyard, the lamas and the members of the family who are still in the courtyard, cry: "Do not come back and harm us, forget us forever and go to dwell elsewhere." The evening before the cremation, after all the guests have left, having said with devotion their Om Mani for a long time, the lamas immediately brutally chase the soul out of the courtyard and all the rooms. At the very moment of the cremation, the master of ceremonies makes the last traditional speech, before the oven, addressing the corpse: "We lavishly spent money and performed all the possible rites for your well-being, now go away and never come back to disturb us or to harm us.[23] Forget us forever; we will pray for you and make offerings." The fear of the departed is a real obsession. Most of the harm suffered is ascribed to them. Many of the deceased are supposed to be peculiarly fiendish and are buried in special cemeteries, where the shamans have to be invited to keep them quiet. They like to live in lonely spots and empty ruined houses, and have to be fed, because when they become hungry they are dangerous.

However, all the distinctions concerning the three souls, based on observed facts and customs, do not bother the average Monguors. They do not care for the nature of these three souls, how long they live, when they will vanish—all they know is that they leave the body at death. However, they are accustomed to feed the souls of three generations. They do not care to which, among the three souls, offerings are made at the time of the spring rites performed by the shaman, or at the time of the cult of the family deity, or on their own graves a few days before the worshipping of the ancestor of the clan. Even the lama or shaman, calling back the soul of a sick man, calls all three of them back.

CEMETERIES

Since the submission of the Monguors to the Ming dynasty (in 1368), the chief of each of the groups, receiving the title and duty of T'u-ssu, became the ancestor-founder of his group. Their pictures then began to occupy the center of the new ancestral hall. The family register began with their name, and their grave became the head mound, which today is seen in all the old cemeteries where the yearly worship of the ancestors is held. T'u-ssu never have been cremated.[24]

[23] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, *op. cit.*, 130. Louis M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes Mongols*, 211, Genbloux, Duculot, 1947.

[24] Schram, Part I: 59–70. [p. 142(A)]